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ABSTRACT

What characterizes the public communication behavior of members of an organization during the manifest stage of organizational conflict? To examine this issue, a study content-analyzed themes and values expressed in 212 news articles, editorials, and letters to the editor published by two community newspapers during a major public university's retrenchment debate. Theme statements were coded in five categories: financial, humanitarian, state and society, academic, and political. Value statements were coded in 20 categories, and further classified into four groupings: traditional academic values, interaction values, operational values, and environmental values. The debate was characterized by political theme statements, while themes of substance and those related to the particular organizational enterprise were submerged or decreased over the three-month period of debate. Values expressed in organizational members' statements reflected a similar pattern: organization-specific values were less frequently used and isolated in a linkage application of results. Environmental, interaction, and operational type values formed the character of the debate and provide potential application to communication in conflict situations in other organizations. Further, the values expressed by faculty, staff and students in the conflict (ranked by frequency of appearance in press coverage) had a near-zero correlation with identical values as ranked several years earlier in a survey inventory of the same population at the same university. (Five figures and eight tables of data are included, and 17 references are attached.) (SR)

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THE RHETORIC OF RETRENCHMENT

THEMES AND VALUES AS DIMENSIONS IN AN INTERPRETIVE APPROACH TO ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT

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Abstract

What characterizes public communication behavior during the manifest stage of organizational conflict? This issue was examined by content analyzing themes and values expressed in statements published by two community newspapers during a major public university's retrenchment debate.

The debate was characterized by political theme statements while themes of substance and those related to the particular organizational enterprise were submerged or decreased over the three-month period of debate. Values expressed in organizational members' statements reflected a similar pattern: organization-specific values were less frequently used and isolated in a linkage application of results. Environmental, interaction and operational type values form the character of the debate and provide potential application to communication in conflict situations in other organizations.

Further, the values expressed by faculty, staff and students in the conflict are found not to be associated with identical values as ranked several years earlier in a survey inventory of the same population at the same university.

THE RHETORIC OF RETRENCHMENT

THEMES AND VALUES AS DIMENSIONS IN AN INTERPRETIVE APPROACH TO ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT

In 1982, Putnam and Wilson reported on a study that brought about a three-factor structure in conflict management: nonconfrontation, solution-orientation and control. But they acknowledged that conflict must also be studied during its manifest stage, concluding that communication researchers can play a significant role in discovering appropriate and effective ways to handle organizational conflicts. Heretofore, they said, this domain has remained largely untapped by organization communication scholars: "We need research that identifies the unique characteristics of conflict episodes and tests for the impact of these characteristics on communication strategies in different phases of conflict development." It is in the spirit of providing some exploratory work to that end that this paper is presented.

The Rhetoric

When the spectre of retrenchment hits the campus, we can respond in a number of ways. First we might defend or deny the financial need or offer alternatives:

> The tax structure is the underlying bad guy...if we want quality, we have to pay for it...let's increase student fees; let's implement supplemental fee schedules...let's increase private donations...this will give the Legislature a justification for an even smaller appropriation...let's charge for services rather than cut services...a main mission to raise salaries is a crime...salaries are already slightly more than the average...if we reduce our staff, it may cause a loss of federal funds.

Or, we become humanitarian in outlook:

> This is a cruel and sick joke...these programs are populated by women, minority students; by women, minority

faculty and staff...this is certainly not the affirmative action Camelot I expected...the people wouldn't be safe if we reduce campus security expenditures...sexism guided the budget ax...a buyout plan is cruel and insensitive... it's just a way to dump tenured faculty...the psychological impact on students would be disastrous...people will be mugged, burgled, raped.

Then, too, we can invoke the state and society if need be:

This is a profound loss to citizens of this state... it will hurt the boys and girls in the schools...but this is a state university...what is good for university finance is not good for the state...it's a betrayal of citizens... as the home goes, so goes the nation...this program is unduplicated in the state; that program has an economic impact on the state...this would eliminate the only accredited program in the state; in our athletic conference... these programs are in great demand in this state...we're one of a kind here...our graduates get jobs...this proposal is out of touch with the needs of humanity...we're fighting for the 4-H child not yet born.

Or, we can throw in academic credentials and argument:

We lead in grants, contracts...we're among only 60 accredited schools...quality will be diminished...surely you wouldn't cut a nationally respected program...the program is nationally accredited, internationally known...the danger is a loss of accreditation...the proposal would stunt research development...teaching doesn't count...that program isn't on the cutting edge.

Then, again, we can throw down a political gauntlet:

Call your legislator...the decision is irresponsible... thank God we think more of this university than the chancellor does...the plan is proposed by a nearsighted administration; by non-residents of this state...the people won't stand for this... this smacks of Stockmanitis...I'll enjoy a fight; we're going to fight like hell...Hell, no, we won't go...the chancellor should cease and desist or resign...there's some hidden mission here, they're using voodoo economics...the proposal must be a result of computer error...any change should come from citizens and scholars...the process here is an atrocity, a kangaroo court, a gross mistake...just because they think they're right, doesn't mean they are.

And during the entire process of debate, we invoke our values, too:

Academic Freedom: quality only comes from an atmosphere of freedom; or accountability: we shall do people who come after us a grave disservice; we will have a loss of credibility with our publics; or adaptability: whatever we can do cheaper, we ought to; some reductions are due; the demand is smaller; women's issues are not as critical anymore; or aesthetic environment: any increases still won't pay for renovation.

Or comprehensiveness: have a responsibility for diversity and breadth; should not be elite; or cooperation: the committee will test my judgments; all opinions will be considered; agreement is essential; we've got to work together; people can have reasonable disagreement; any cooperative effort has been violated to the extreme.

Or effectiveness: a reallocation is inevitable if we are to reach future salary goals; a reduced staff may cause loss of federal funds; there are serious consequences for affirmative action plans and goals; or efficiency: a merger will save some money; this program is guilty of disproportionate funding; this program is cost effective; this program supports, complements another academic program; they failed to look for inefficiency; or equality: women can enter non-traditional fields; does (or does not) unfairly hurt minorities, women; proposals are racist, sexist, or ageist; proposal discriminates against older faculty members; or excellence: we need to put quality before quantity; across-the-board cuts only lead to mediocrity; we were told to cut for quality, but we're cutting quality.

Or influence: we have a land grant mandate to address state problems; people all over this state are affected; this would isolate the university from technological, social needs; it would leave the university behind a changing society; or innovation: a program isn't innovative if it is not engaged in research.

Or leadership: we can shape the future or be its victim; we have a responsibility for leadership; this is the only way to achieve the direction we want to go; or liberal education: we are still offering a core curriculum, broadly encompassing.

Or mutual respect: a veiled threat is still there; we'll never be comfortable; there's no lifting of the burden; we don't respect them; a phase out would make people impact as fair as possible; we're exploring alternatives for faculty members; or recognition: a loss would damage the prestige of my degrees; we're doomed to be a non-leader type of school; although the program is a national leader, it has failed in research; the program is the 16th largest in the nation; the program is only one of two in our athletic conference.

Or pride: if this happens, I would leave the university; I just don't want to work here anymore.

Or scholarship: the program is lacking in achieving gains in research; weak research is the common link of the targeted programs; there is a need for intellectual leadership; quality comes from dedicated scholars; or stability: we are driving faculty to greener pastures; this will mean a loss of enrollment; we will change from a general academic institution; this plan contradicts an earlier academic plan; it's contrary to tradition; faculty need security as well as high salaries; we're just trying to conserve what we have; or student-oriented: students will/can enroll in other programs; we'll take a reduction in staff during the semester breaks; the cuts hamper activity courses for all students; this is a major inconvenience for students.

Purpose

The concern of this paper is to explore the public communication behavior of members of an organization involved in a conflict situation. It is an attempt to understand, through language behavior, the character of the debate. Conflict has been chosen purposefully in order to illustrate the assistance that an interpretive approach to organizational communication can provide. What it was that most concerned the parties in the conflict is the primary question, taking note that as these parties talk, they clarify and change their own meanings, thus "putting it into a new context and forming new conceptions" (Deetz, 1982) Particularly helpful to this understanding is the ability to compare

an earlier survey of the same population regarding what they professed to hold as enduring values--a more functional approach--and their behavior through public statements some time later.

Pacanowsky (1982) urges the use of the interpretive approach to the study of organizational culture, with all its rites and rituals. In the particular organization under study here, a major ritual for those members of the organization, in particular the disgruntled, was to take full advantage of a media-laden city. But as Putnam (1983) points out, for the interpretivist, the actual message transmission is of lesser importance and thus not the major concern of this study.

The Conflict

The conflict revolved around proposed retrenchment plans at a publicly-supported midwestern university that enrolls approximately 25,000 students and employs 5,000 in teaching, research, extension, administrative and service support areas.

Administration officials announced in the summer of 1981 general financial needs for the following three years. They calculated that approximately $20 million in addition to already projected revenue would be needed to cope with state fiscal problems, inflation and projected lowered enrollment if campus goals for increasing faculty and staff salaries and improving general expense (program) budgets were to be met. The solution, presented by officials to university governing board members, was to reduce current institutional expenditures by that amount. This internal reallocation would involve the elimination or reduction of programs. A faculty-student committee recommended the

criteria that would be used to review campus programs for potential elimination and reduction.

Early in 1982, the program review process was announced by the administration. Each administrator reporting to the chancellor would propose recommendations and submit them to a faculty-staff-student committee assigned to the specific area (e.g., academic administrative services, student services).

On April 2, 1982, the administrators' recommendations were submitted to the committees and distributed to the press. After an early and brief court challenge by one local newspaper, the committee meetings were opened to the public, enabling far greater press coverage than would have been available initially.

The primary focus of debate was on recommendations on the academic division of the campus, which holds the largest budget. The recommendations included elimination of two schools and reductions in seven other schools, colleges or divisions within the academic area--reducing academic expenditures by approximately $7 million and resulting in the dismissal of about 300 employees, including at least 50 tenured and 100 untenured faculty members.

The three-month public debate that followed is the subject of this study.*

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*Ultimately, the reallocation did not occur. On June 3, two months after the initial announcement of specific reductions, the chancellor recommended delaying the proposals because of a "lack of agreement on purpose and principles" basic to the university's future. The university's board (already having made it clear publicly that it would not support the reallocation plan) agreed, stating that it would not terminate any academic department "solely for financial reasons in the forseeable future."

The Research Questions

Themes of Public Debate. Lewis Coser (1968) defined social conflict as "a struggle over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only to gain the desired values but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals." Coser further pointed out that conflict within a system can lead to revitalization of either old norms or the emergence of new ones; thus the perspective that conflict is not necessarily a negative factor. But how can this be accomplished?

Research Question 1: What were the most frequent themes used in the debate, did the respective sides of the debate reflect systematic difference in theme use, and were there patterns of use over time?

Research Question 1a: What were the linkages among the themes that would indicate a communication pattern?

Values. The motivational function of values has been the subject of commentary and research over the past twenty years (Kluckhohn, 1962; Kaplan, 1964; Rokeach, 1973). Values have been considered as a code or standard that organizes a system of action (Kluckhohn) and as a desirable mode of behavior or end-state (Rokeach), with Rokeach concluding that values are guides and determinants of social attitudes and ideologies on the one hand and of social behavior on the other. Yet values themselves have a behavior component (Rokeach) in that from a set of values held, one or another may be activated at any particular moment, in a particular situation (Kaplan). Research into the relationship between asserted values and operating values was called for some 40 years ago by the Cornell Value Study Group (Kluckhohn) who recommended

that research techniques might include content analysis in order to examine the explicit themes and implicit value-assumptions and implications.

Consideration of values for determining strategy and motivation within the business organization has been urged as well (Guth and Tagiuri, 1965; Brown, 1976).

To investigate the specific values, then,

Research Question 2: What were the most frequent values used in the debate, did the respective sides of the debate reflect systematic difference in value use, and were there patterns of use over time?

Research Question 2a: What were the linkages among the values that would indicate a communication pattern?

But, also to investigate the relationship between asserted values and operating values,

Research Question 3: How did the values used by parties in the debate compare with the priorities among those values that were identified in a 1979 survey as "values that ought to guide the University and were there differences among the parties in such a comparison?

Method

Content analysis was conducted on 212 news articles (including features), editorials and letters to the editor (including opinion articles) appearing in two daily newspapers published in the community where the university is located. These 212 articles made up the complete coverage of the reallocation debate by these newspapers.

The unit of analysis is the statement. Statements were coded for ten source categories: Actors (plan proposers), Reactors (internal to

the university and opposing or supporting the plan; external to the university and opposing or supporting the plan; neutral both internal and external; and undetermined opposing or supporting, when it was not known whether the person was internal or external), and Reporter-Editor.

Theme statements were coded in five categories: Financial (the key ideas were financial need for change; denial of financial need and financial alternatives); Humanitarian (the key ideas were human hardship; that women, minority groups would be adversely affected; and an indication of caring about those adversely affected if the plan were implemented); State and Society (the key ideas were contribution to the state's quality of life and that the university serves society and the state's citizens); Academic (the key ideas were that the purpose of a university is teaching and research; that an academic program is worthy if accredited or has high regard in the national academic community or has large research grants), and Political (the key ideas were that the planning and review process is unfair or fair; that the people of the state wouldn't stand for this; that the actors or reactors are guilty of poor judgment).

The themes were derived following perusal of the articles for general thematic content.

Value statements (Table 1) were coded in 20 categories, replicating a list of academic community values used in a 1979 survey of all faculty (rank of assistant professor and above), all chairpersons, deans and other academic administrators and random samples of 2,000 students and 1,700 staff at the same university. In this 1979 survey, a total of

1,251 useable responses were obtained, with a 44% response rate for faculty and administrators and a 15% response rate for students and staff.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

To remain consistent with the 1979 survey, and with the nature of desirability in values, statements of values were coded only for internal university sources and only with reference to their predicted results. For example, to be coded, a statement must have suggested that if the reallocation plan were accepted, the result would be inconsistent with (or consistent with) a specific value.

Validity of operational definitions adapted to the conflict situation was supported by three colleagues.

Time intervals were made up of four periods that attempted to equalize the number of days of coverage and number of articles in each period. The first three time periods (N=49; 53; 49) covered a half-month The fourth time period (N=61) covered the half-month ending with deferral of the reallocation plan and the subsequent month of follow-up articles.

Coding reliability. To determine coder reliability, a ten-article purposive sample (to include a variety of article types and as many different sources as possible) was submitted to three judges other than the author. Two received open-ended coding choice; a third received underlined, specified statements to code.

Using the criterion of percentage of agreement between two analysts on individual items, and calculating for theme and value categories,

the reliability was .60 and .61 on the open-ended coding; .81 on the specified statement coding. Coding reliability here can be compared to the percentage of .04 that might be expected on the basis of chance alone, since there are 25 themes and values.*

Analysis. The primary analysis tool in the study was the chi-square test because the data were limited to frequency counts and because the objective was to determine greater-than-chance occurrences and any resultant relationships. The contingency coefficient, when the chi-square test proved significant, gave an indication of the strength of the relationship and formed the basis for the theme and value cluster analysis (McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis). The cluster analysis is exploratory, outlining a beginning schema for the thematic communication patterns.

Results Summary

Research Question 1: What were the most frequent themes used in the debate, did the respective sides of the debate reflect systematic difference in theme use, and were there patterns of use over time?

Table 2 shows that political themes (N=299) dominated the use of

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*In Value-Analysis, The Nature and Use of the Method, Ralph K. White noted that when item agreement percentage is used, probability comparison is appropriate for coding value statements. One sample cited by White achieved .62 and another .67, compared with .02 reliability for the 50 values being coded. White noted that the same sentence may have two or more value-meanings and that different analysts may see different meaning yet all may be genuine. "After they compare notes," he wrote, "each probably sees all...meanings--but then their work is no longer wholly independent; one might have influenced the other unduly." White conclude that "the final conclusions have to do with item totals, and minor discrepancies have a tendency to cancel out when totals are computed."

theme statements (N=786). While political themes were used to a greater extent than mere chance would predict (X^2=117.91; $p < .001$), humanitarian and academic themes were used to a lesser extent than chance would predict ($p < .001$; X^2=30.46 and X^2=35.97 respectively). Financial and state-society theme statements did not significantly differ from chance expectations (N=144 and 173 respectively).

Use of themes was dependent upon whether a source was pro or con (X^2=69.24; $p < .001$; C=.31, C_{max}=.71) and whether the source was internal or external to the university (X^2=47.83; $p < .001$; C=.26, C_{max}=.71). When considering the association results, however, it appears that choosing up sides (pro or con) is a slightly better predictor of theme use than is one's affiliation with the university.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

For all sources, goodness of fit tests show that those opposing the reallocation plan used humanitarian (X^2=13.54; $p < .001$), society-state (X^2=59.77; $p < .001$) and political themes (X^2=110.22; $p < .001$) to a greater extent than did supporters. Neither financial nor academic theme use shows significant difference.

Within the university, humanitarian themes were dropped from this pattern: con sources made significantly greater use of political (X^2=41.52; $p < .001$) and state-society themes (X^2=10.02; $p < .01$) than did pro sources. No other difference between the two sides was significant.

Over time, as Figure 1 shows, there was increasing use of political themes (31% to 53%) from the beginning of the debate through the final period of debate. Financial themes increased slightly (14% to 19%) and state-society themes decreased slightly (26% to 21%). But sharp decreases appeared in the use of academic (15% to 5%) and humanitarian themes (26% to 2%).

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Those who were in favor of the reallocation plan steadily increased their use of political themes (Time 1=10%; Time 4=14%) and steadily decreased their use of humanitarian (25% to 0%) and state-society themes (24% to 6%), perhaps indicating a need to confront the opposition more directly as the intensity of the debate grew. Those opposing the plan increased humanitarian (50% to 100%) and state-society themes (59% to 85%) but made no tradeoff with any other thematic points. Their voices simply increased in numbers. Editors-reporters clearly traded in humanitarian statements (19% to 0%) for financial themes (7% to 32%).

Research Question 1a: What were the linkages among the themes that would indicate a communication pattern?

Intercorrelations for the themes, as shown in Table 3, for all sources combined, showed the strongest association between financial and political themes ($C=.33$, $C_{max}=.71$) and this held true proportionately for members of the university community ($C=.34$, $C_{max}=.71$). However, association between financial and state-society ($C=.32$) and academic and political ($C=.32$) were only slightly less for all sources

as well as internal sources (financial and state-society C=.27; academic and political C=.31).

INSERT TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Application of McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis (Figure 2) shows two separate theme clusters (financial, political, state-society and academic forming one cluster; humanitarian and academic in a secondary cluster). For internal university sources, the five themes form a single cluster around the strong financial-political base.

Of particular interest is the academic theme linkage. For members of the university community, academic statements were linked solely with political themes. Sources outside the university used academic themes differently: through linkage with state-society and humanitarian themes.

INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Research Question 2: What were the most frequent values used in the debate, did the respective sides of the debate reflect systematic difference in value use, and were there patterns of use over time?

Value statements (N=381) were coded for internal sources only. The most frequently used value was influence, accounting for nearly 20% of the total. The only other value at or above 10% use was cooperation (10.76%); all remaining 18 values ranged in percentage use from under 1% to 8.66%. The least used values (under 1%) were:

academic freedom, aesthetic environment, innovation, liberal education and pride.

A goodness of fit test was applied to each of the 20 values to determine significant difference between pro and con use. The result showed significant difference for eight of the 20. Plan proposers and supporters most used the values of efficiency, leadership, adaptability (all at $p < .001$), excellence ($p < .05$) and accountability ($p < .10$). The opposition cited equality, influence (both at $p < .001$) and recognition ($p < .01$).

INSERT TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE

Solitary use of a value shows still other results: pro sources were the only sources to use adaptability, aesthetic environment and liberal education. Con sources were the only sources to use academic freedom and pride values.

The total value statements coded for each time period held relatively steady (N=107; 98; 80; 96). However, when considered by pro-con sources over time, as Figure 3 shows, there are major differences. Over time, supporters steadily increased their percentage use of cooperation (7% to 26%) while decreasing use of excellence (12% to 6%) and adaptability (7% to 0%). Opposition sources steadily increased use of mutual respect (4% to 23%) and, to a lesser degree, cooperation (6% to 10%) while decreasing use of recognition (8% to 3%) and student-oriented values (13% to 0%).

INSERT FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

Research Question 2a: What were the linkages among the values that would indicate a communication pattern?

Intercorrelations, as shown in Table 5, for the values show very high association between recognition and adaptability (C=.6290, C_{max}=.71), between recognition and leadership (C=.6229), between leadership and equality (C=.5728) and between adaptability and pride (C=.5912).

INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE

The strongest link, recognition and adaptability, forms the basis for the major cluster pattern (Figure 4) that includes 15 of the 20 values. Within this cluster, leadership by itself is linked directly with six other values and would form its own grouping were it not for its very high association with recognition.

A second cluster is made up solely of mutual respect and excellence.

Academic freedom, innovation and liberal education values become isolated and do not appear in either cluster pattern.

INSERT FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

Research Question 3: How did the values used by the parties in the debate compare with the priorities among those values that were identified in a 1979 survey as "values that ought to guide the university" and were there differences among the parties in such a comparison?

There is a near zero correlation (r_s=-.085, NS) between the values as ranked in 1979 on the self-administered inventory and the frequency-based ranking of values in the press coverage of the 1982 reallocation debate. For plan proposers and supporters, there is a more positive correlation, but still low (r_s=.18, NS); for those opposed, there is a nearly identical negative relationship (r_s=-.16, NS).

Looking more closely, one can compare each value over time. A change in 10 ranks is significant (X^2=3.841, $p < .05$) while a change in 9 ranks is not. These comparisons (Table 6) show an increased valuation of cooperation, influence and mutual respect and decreased valuation of academic freedom, scholarship and student-oriented.

INSERT TABLE 6 ABOUT HERE

The ranking list from the 1979 survey was based upon respondents rating "value among the five highest priorities" for the campus in the future. For all sources, only accountability remains in the top five and only aesthetic environment remains in the bottom five (Table 7).

For plan proposer-supporter rankings, two of the original five remain: accountability and excellence. But none of the opposition's ranks includes values originally rated as top priorities. Both supporters and opponents continued to place aesthetic environment in the bottom ranks; sources that were neutral placed none in either top or bottom rankings.

INSERT TABLE 7 ABOUT HERE

The differences between 1979 results and 1982 are significant (chi-square tests) for all sources, for pro sources and for con sources in both "top five" and "bottom five" comparison categories, further illustrating the lack of association between preferred values at the two points in time.

Theme and Value Analysis. The character of the debate, as presented to the general public through the two newspapers, clearly focused on political themes. State-society and academic themes overall gave way to political themes as the debate progressed to the state of direct confrontation.

As would be expected in this debate, internal university sources (those closest to the issues, pro or con) were the most quoted. Thus, it is important to note that the major difference for the competing university sources was the use of state-society and political themes--and that financial, humanitarian and academic themes showed little difference between them.

The overall debate illustrates an interesting communication pattern between supporters and opposition: they appear to have met head on in terms of financial and academic themes, but the opposition further hammered away with messages relating to humanitarian, state-society and political themes while the proposers-supporters kept nearly still.

Despite the increasingly political nature of the debate, as shown through theme analysis, the parties in the debate increased expressions of cooperation and mutual respect, a more conciliatory stance. One may interpret this as a wary reconciliation, however, since the final time period analyzed included the month after the delay decision was announced

Values and Themes Together. To get a clearer picture of the messages in the debate, themes and values were analyzed to determine the association between them.

Two of the values -- adaptability and leadership -- were positively associated with all of the themes. The highest associations (above C=.43, C_{max}=.71) were adaptability with humanitarian themes and leadership with humanitarian, state-society and political themes.

Values uniquely associated to a theme were: stability with economic and effectiveness with political. (Table 8)

The only significant use of themes was the plan opposition's use of state-society and political themes. Coupled with the same group's use of values (equality, influence and recognition), we can more clearly identify their argument. The picture for plan proposers and supporters is less clear.

INSERT TABLE 8 ABOUT HERE

Linkage of Values. Further interpretation of the values linkage results presents an intriguing model to consider. The cluster patterns in themselves do not yield a clearly identifiable classification system within the list of 20 values. Nor do other value classifications (e.g., Rokeach's terminal and instrumental categories) assist us. Therefore, it seems plausible to construct the values into classifications as follow.

Traditional academic values--academic freedom (freedom of expression, tolerance), excellence (achievement, distinction,

quality), innovation (creativity, imagination), liberal education (informed, well-rounded), scholarship (discovery, learning), and student-oriented (focus on and primacy of the student);

Interaction values--cooperation (collegiality, communication), mutual respect (courtesy, integrity, trust), pride (commitment, morale), equality (equity, fairness, impartiality);

Operational values--accountability (credibility, evaluation, openness, responsibility), comprehensiveness (all encompassing, complete, diverse), effectiveness (goal attainment, success), efficiency (capability, productivity), leadership (direction, purpose) and stability (consistency, security);

Environmental values--adaptability (flexibility, responsiveness), aesthetic environment (appearance, attractiveness), influence (external problem solving, relevancy to society), recognition (national eminence, prestige).

Using this model (Figure 5), those values with the highest association are predominantly interaction, environmental and operational in nature. The strongest association that provides the base for the primary cluster is the recognition-adaptability linkage and both are environmental.

Further, if one traces the very high association results (C=.568 and above on C_{max}=.71), a primary path can be seen between equality (interaction) and leadership (operational) and recognition (environmental and adaptability (environmental) and pride (interaction).

With this construct, the reallocation debate centers around environmental, operational and interaction values while traditionally academic values are relegated to lesser importance and even isolated.

INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE

Asserted and Operating Values. There is an obvious discrepancy between the set of asserted values and operating values as illustrated in this study. Can we conclude that university faculty, staff and students are guilty of inconsistency? Perhaps, but the more plausible explanation lies in the issue of words vs. deed, self-reported attitudes vs. behavior.

Kluckhohn has pointed out that acts are always compromises among motives, means, situations and values. "Sometimes," he says, "what a person says about his values is truer from a long-term viewpoint than inferences drawn from his actions under special conditions," yet, he continues, "sometimes the majority of a group may indeed conform only on the surface, deluding each other until a crisis situation exposes the superficiality or purely verbal character of certain values."

Players in the reallocation debate acted in an expected, political fashion. Deutscher (1973) has pointed out that people frequently act in their own interests--regardless of values.* Opposition forces in the

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*Richard T. LaPiere argued in the 1930s that what people say and what people do was not always in concordance. His conclusions were based on his observation of a Chinese couple's reception at hotels and restaurants in the United States; this was followed by a questionnaire study. Irwin Deutscher reviewed the LaPiere study and subsequent research on the "what we say, what we do" issue, documenting the oft-irrelevance of self-reported attitudes to conduct.

reallocation debate had much to lose--many of them their very livelihood-were the reallocation to take place. Traditionally academic themes and values seem not conducive to winning a social conflict; exercising influence, acting politically, or indicating a willingness to cooperate more directly lead to conflict resolution.

Implications for the Academic Organization*

In any study, it is hoped that some guidance can be provided that is specific to the organization under study. Concerns in higher education have become acute for organizational communication. Gratz and Salem (1981), in discussing organizational communication in higher education, noted that:

> In an earlier time, faculty members and others working in colleges and universities were willing to accept salaries lower than those in the business and professional world partly because of the climate available in these institutions, the 'quality of life.' More recently in an era of dramatic growth and sharp increases in demands for accountability, bureaucratic structures and demands for objective indicators of achievement as a prerequisite for rewards have become more common...Now, as resources diminish, competition for tax dollars becomes more acute, and extrinsic rewards in general become harder to attain, attention may have to be focused on the organization climate and the 'quality of life' in colleges and universities.

It is beyond the scope of this study to predict the effect of conflict communication behavior upon the organization long term, but if we rely upon the interpretivist approach, it could be expected that

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*Acknowledgement should be given to the limitation that the themes and values expressed in the debate are those that were reported in the newspapers. Thus, the analysis of themes and values depends on the accuracy of reporters and editors. However, in our view, only flagrant and consistent inaccuracy would distort the general findings and conclusions that can be drawn here for organizations. The press coverage of the debate was discussed by Yoder (1985).

there has been significant alteration to the communication climate at this institution. A further affirmation of impending alteration lies in the concept that once an individual has made a public statement of his beliefs, significant reinforcement of that belief has occurred. And having one's statements printed in the public press magnifies the situation.

As Coser has pointed out, the aims of conflicting parties include "neutralizing, injuring or eliminating their rivals." In order to accomplish this neutralization, the debate had to be presented as primarily the political infighting that is shown in the publicly presente newspaper coverage.

But at the same time, one needs to recognize that the most important value stressed in the conflict was "influence" and that state-societal statements were key in the debate. The academic institution, even though it daily experiences the politics of academic issues, has clearly placed serving society and gaining influence with citizens uppermost in the minds of the general public. The ivory tower concept is laid to rest.

Public universities for some time have attempted to reconcile autonomy with public needs, yet resisting attempts by the general public (and legislatures) to determine academic policies. However, academic themes and values played little part in this reallocation debate. A remaining, and here unanswered, question is whether engaging in such a social conflict has opened the doors for greater external constraints on the university's claim to autonomy.

There are further implications for planning within the institution. The study has shown that asserted values bear little relationship to values expressed in this conflict. If an organization seeks to achieve goals by invoking stated preferences of its members, how does it protect itself from the situational departure from these stated preferences? Clearly, the 1979 survey of preferred values did not predict subsequent behavior. The implications should be considered before an organization attempts to attain goals based on personal values abstractly expressed and collectively assessed.

Implications for Organizational Communication Research

Despite the limitations stemming from this study being conducted in a non-profit, state-supported organization, there appear to be some generalizations that could be made. For example, themes will be used differently depending on which side of the conflict one is on, and issue position in the debate is a better predictor than is organization membership.

During this manifest stage, the use of political statements (emphasis on winning, assigning 'right' and 'wrong', casting aspersions on players in the debate, simply playing hardball) were used increasingly until the conclusion was reached. Themes that were related to the particular organizational enterprise (academic in this case) decrease. In general it appears that arguments of substance (in this case financial state and society and academic) become submerged. Further evidence of this submersion can be seen in the linkage analysis, where academic themes form the lesser links with more generally applicable themes.

The basic cause of the conflict--financially based proposals--is tied most closely with political language behavior.

The values linkage model provides the most promise, however, for potential trial of the concept in other research situations.

Again, as with the theme analysis, organization-specific (traditionally academic) values are relegated to lesser importance or isolation in the linkage application.

Environmental, interaction and operational values form the character of the debate--without regard to which side of the conflict one is on--and provide a potential application to communication in conflict situations in other organizations.

The issue of saliency of the conflict values and the perspective that members of the organization have now re-defined their priorities and meaning deserves further exploration if, as Putnam and Wilson have urged, communication researchers can play a significant role in discovering ways to handle organizational conflict.

Figure 1

PERCENTAGE THEME USE OVER TIME

(ALL SOURCES)

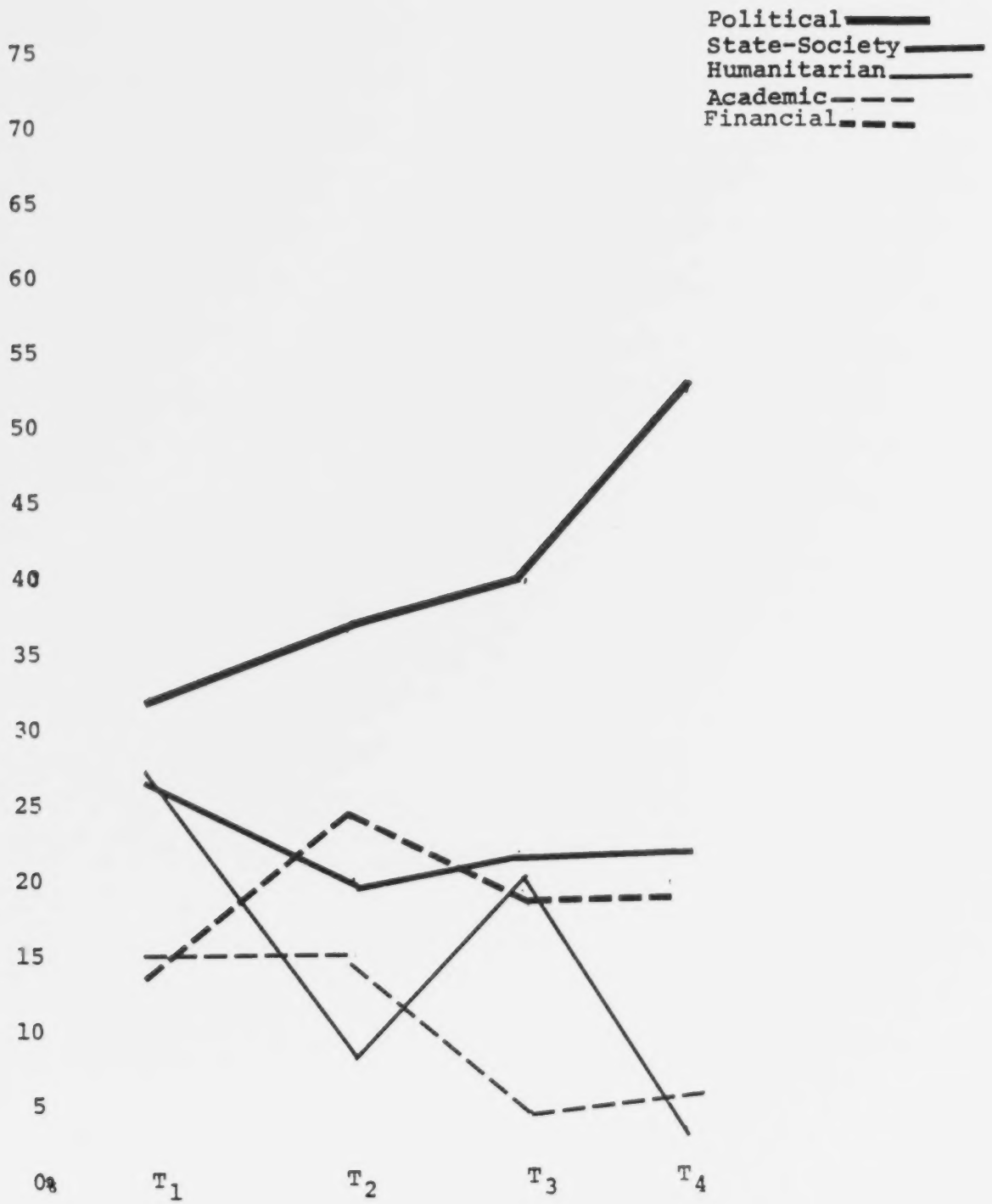
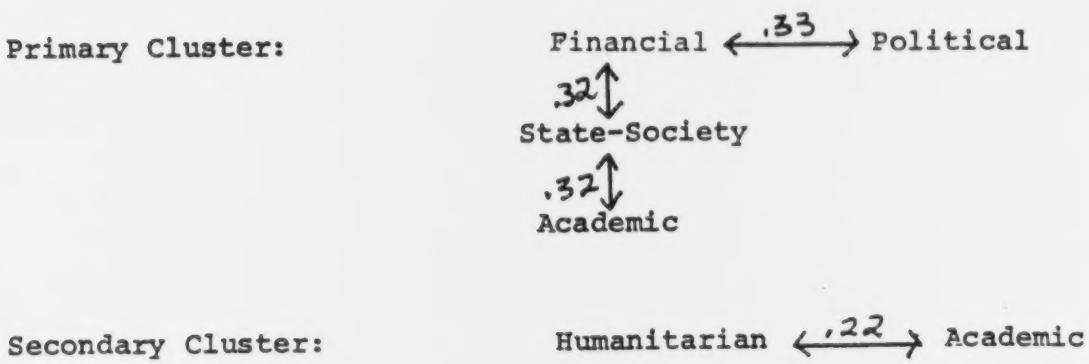
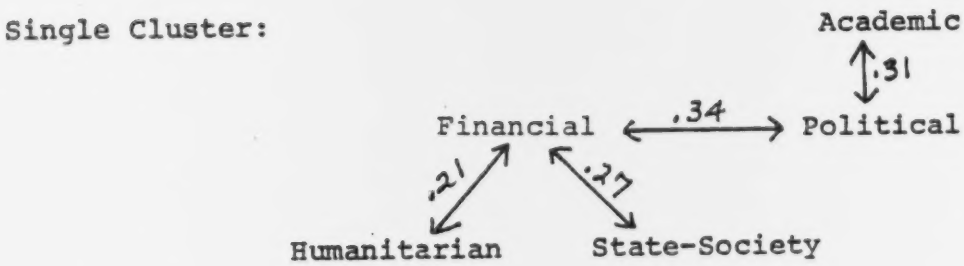


Figure 2

LINKAGE AMONG THE THEMES FOR ALL PRO/CON SOURCES



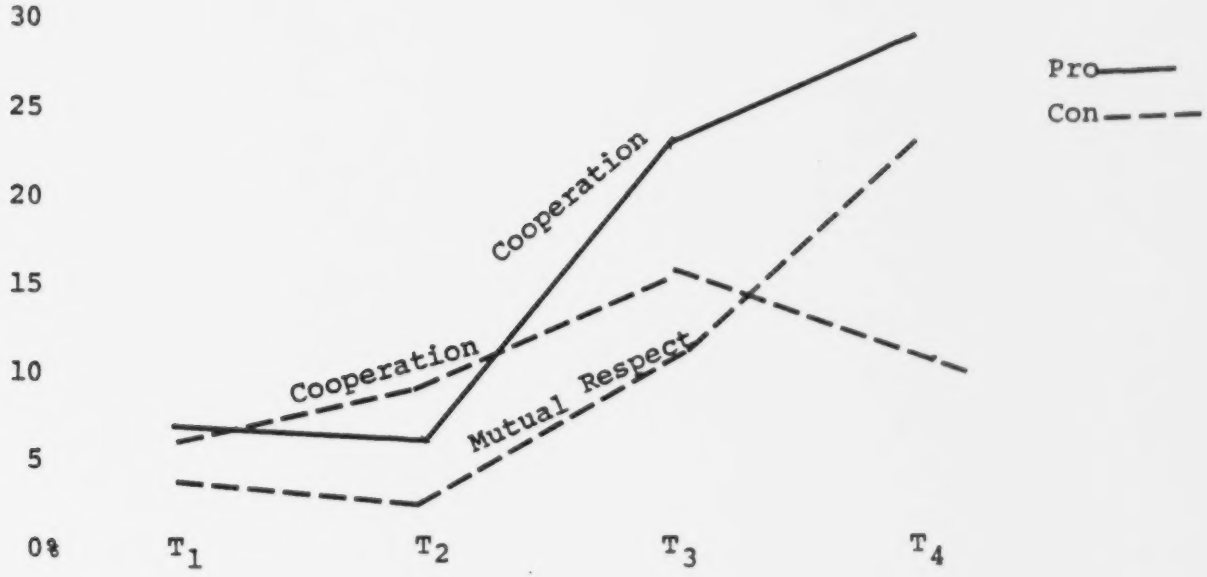
LINKAGE AMONG THE THEMES FOR INTERNAL SOURCES ONLY



Derived through use of McQuitty's Elementary Linkage Analysis

Figure 3

PATTERNS OF GROWTH AND DECLINE IN VALUE USE
(In Percentages)



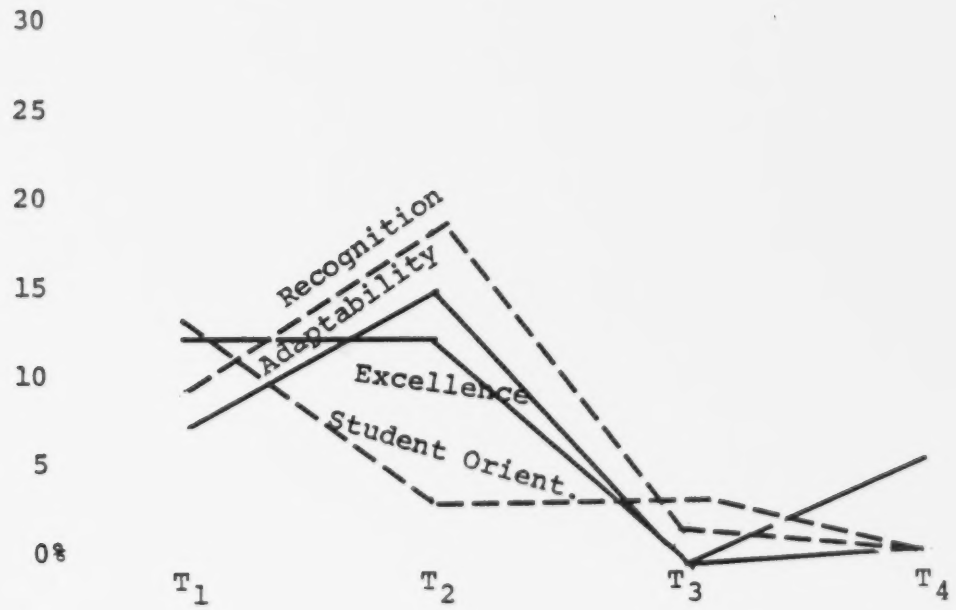
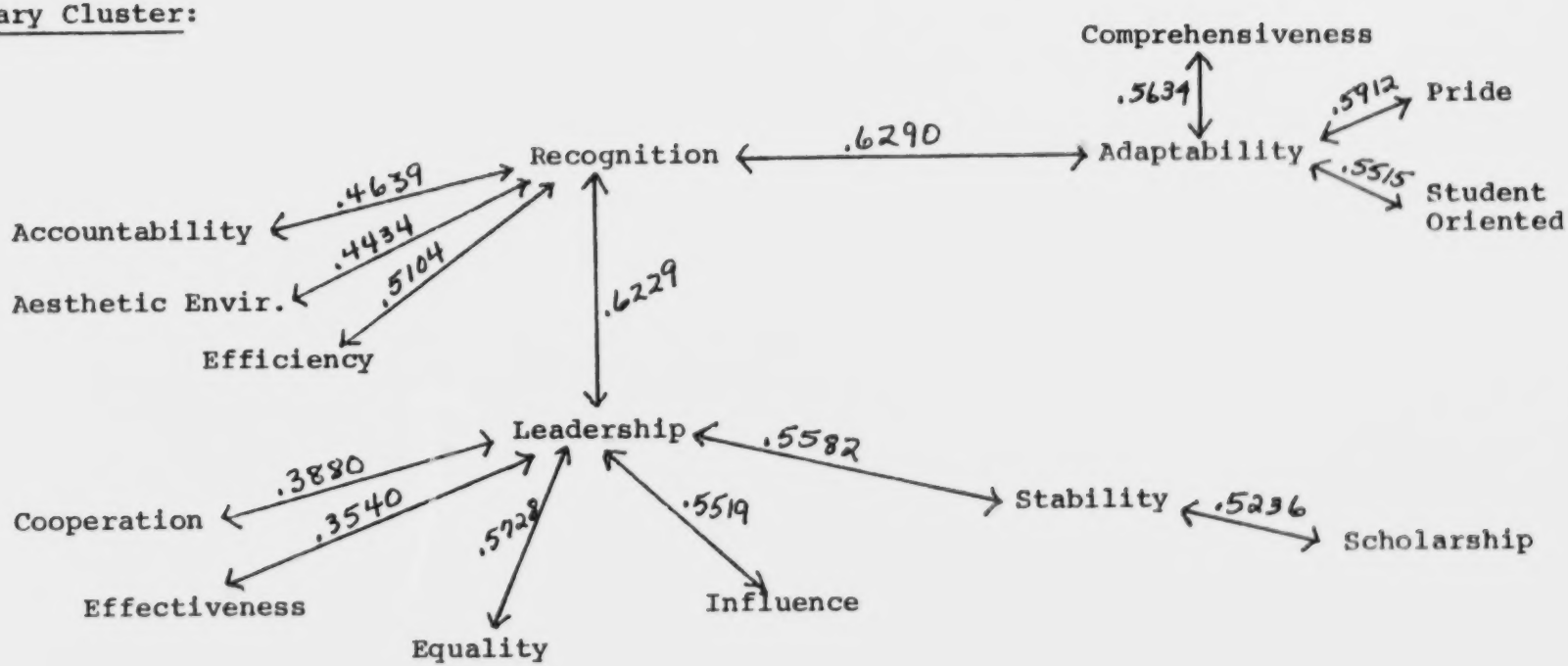


Figure 4

LINKAGE AMONG VALUES

Primary Cluster:



Secondary Cluster:

Mutual Respect <.5446> Excellence

Isolates:

Academic Freedom
Innovation
Liberal Education

Note: Association values are C values, C_{max} = .71

Very High Association = .568 +
High ASsociation = .426 to .5679
Moderate Association = .284 to .4259

Figure 5

LINKAGE AMONG VALUES

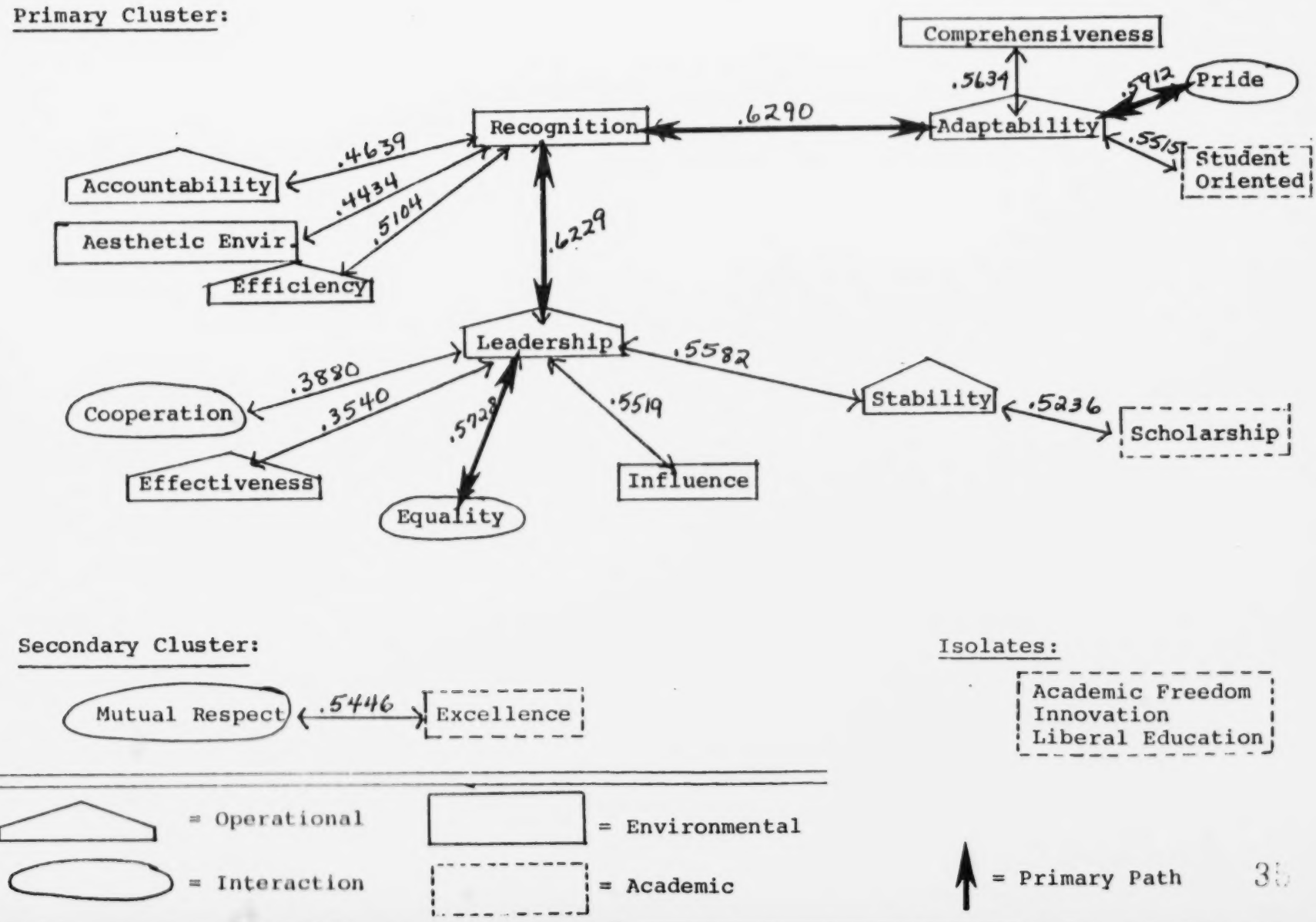


Table 1

VALUE CATEGORIES AS STATED IN 1979 SURVEY INVENTORY*

Value	Detail
Academic Freedom	(freedom of expression, tolerance)
Accountability	(credibility, evaluation, openness, responsibility)
Adaptability	(flexibility, responsiveness)
Aesthetic Environment	(appearance, attractiveness)
Comprehensiveness	(all encompassing, complete, diverse)
Cooperation	(collegiality, communication)
Effectiveness	(goal attainment, success)
Efficiency	(capability, productivity)
Equality	(equity, fairness, impartiality)
Excellence	(achievement, distinction, quality)
Influence	(external problem solving, relevency to society)
Innovation	(creativity, imagination)
Leadership	(direction, purpose)
Liberal Education	(informed, well-rounded)
Mutual Respect	(courtesy, integrity, trust)
Recognition	(national eminence, prestige)
Pride	(commitment, morale)
Scholarship	(discovery, learning)
Stability	(consistency, security)
Student Oriented	(focus on and primacy of the student)

*Developed by Values Survey subcommittee, Academic and Institutional Futures Committees, University of Missouri-Columbia.

Table 2

THEME USAGE BY GENERALIZED GROUPS

	Total Use							
Theme	Frequency	X^2	Internal	External	Total	Pro	Con	Total
Financial	144	NS	105	10	115	53	51	104
Humanitarian	88	30.46*	64	10	74	20	51	71
State-Society	173	NS	104	49	153	28	123	151
Academic	82	35.97*	75	2	77	39	38	77
Political	299	127.91*	220	32	252	42	208	250
	786		568	103	671**	182	471	653**
				$X^2 = 47.83$			$X^2 = 69.2368$	
				$p<.001$			$p<.001$	
				$C = .26$			$C = .31$	
				$C_{max} = .71$			$C_{max} = .71$	

*$p<.001$

**Internal/External totals exclude editor-reporter and unknown sources; Pro/Con totals exclude editor-reporter and neutral sources.

Table 3

THEME INTERCORRELATIONS

	Total Pro/Con Sources					Internal Sources Only				
	(E)	(H)	(S)	(A)	(P)	(E)	(H)	(S)	(A)	(P)
Financial	.71					.71				
Humanitarian	.22	.71				.21	.71			
State-Society	.32	NS	.71			.27	NS	.71		
Academic	NS	.22	.32	.71		NS	.18	.23	.71	
Political	.33	.12	NS	.32	.71	.34	.14	NS	.31	.71

Table 4

PRO/CON USE OF VALUES

Value	Pro (#)	Con (#)	X^2	p
Efficiency	16	5	60.5	.001
Equality	7	21	70.0	.001
Influence	14	61	29.45	.001
Leadership	20	1	17.19	.001
Adaptability	11	0	11.0	.001
Recognition	3	15	8.0	.01
Excellence	16	6	4.54	.05
Accountability	22	8	3.27	.10

Table 5
VALUE INTERCORRELATIONS

	Academic Freedom	Accountability	Adaptability	Aesth. Environment	Comprehensiveness	Cooperation	Effectiveness	Efficiency	Equality	Excellence	Influence	Innovation	Leadership	Liberal Education	Mutual Respect	Recognition	Pride	Scholarship	Stability	Student Oriented
Academic Freedom	.71																			
Accountability	--*	.71																		
Adaptability	--	--	.71																	
Aesthetic Environment	--	--	--	.71																
Comprehensiveness	--	.32	.56	--	.71															
Cooperation	--	--	.33	--	--	.71														
Effectiveness	--	--	--	--	--	--	.71													
Efficiency	--	--	--	--	.37	--	--	.71												
Equality	--	.43	.56	.34	--	.27	--	.45	.71											
Excellence	--	--	--	--	.33	--	--	--	.43	.71										
Influence	--	.46	.49	.28	--	.34	.27	.45	--	.44	.71									
Innovation	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.71								
Leadership	--	--	--	--	.54	.39	.35	--	.57	--	.55	--	.71							
Liberal Education	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.71						
Mutual Respect	--	.40	.53	--	--	--	--	.41	--	.54	--	--	.54	--	.71					
Recognition	--	.46	.63	.44	--	.32	.33	.51	--	.49	--	--	.62	--	--	.71				
Pride	--	--	.59	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.49	--	--	--	.71			
Scholarship	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	.36	--	.35	--	--	--	.31	.44	--	.71		
Stability	--	.40	.55	--	--	--	--	.42	--	.40	--	--	.56	--	--	--	--	.52	.71	
Student Oriented	--	.39	.55	--	--	--	--	.38	--	.35	--	--	.54	--	--	--	--	.41	--	.71

* -- denotes NS

Table 6

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ASSERTED AND OPERATING VALUES

Change of 10 Ranks or More ($p < .05$)

	Change	Number of Ranks
All Internal Sources		
Influence	(+)	15
Cooperation	(+)	12.5
Mutual Respect	(+)	11.5
Student Oriented	(-)	10.5
Scholarship	(-)	11.5
Academic Freedom	(-)	15
Pro Sources Use		
Cooperation	(+)	13
Influence	(+)	10
Academic Freedom	(-)	15.5
Con Sources Use		
Influence	(+)	15
Stability	(+)	15
Mutual Respect	(+)	12
Recognition	(+)	11
Cooperation	(+)	10
Scholarship	(-)	11
Academic Freedom	(-)	12
Neutral Sources Use		
Mutual Respect	(+)	13.5

Table 7

VALUES "PRIORITY" RANKINGS

	All Internal Sources			Pro Sources		Con Sources	
	1978	1982	(X^2)	1982	(X^2)	1982	(X^2)
Excellence	1	7.5		4.5		9.5	
Scholarship	2	13.5		9		13	
Student Oriented	3	13.5		13.5		7.5	
Academic Freedom	4	19		19.5		16	
Accountability	5	4.5		1.5		7.5	
			(41.52)*		(40.20)*		(9.63)***
Influence	16	1		6		1	
Recognition	17	10		13.5		6	
Aesthetic Envir.	18	19		17		19	
Comprehensiveness	19	15		15		9.5	
Stability	20	6		11		5	
			(85.85)*		(14.70)**		(75.13)*

NOTE: Frequency-based chi-square test avoids comparison problem of changes in more than five ranks.

*$p < .001$
**$p < .01$
***$p < .05$

Table 8

POSITIVE ASSOCIATION OF VALUES AND THEMES
(C_{max} = .71)

Financial Themes

Influence (C = .35)
Leadership (C = .31)
Adaptability (C = .27)
Recognition (C = .27)
Equality (C = .24)
Mutual Respect (C = .21)
*Stability (C = .20)

Humanitarian Themes

Leadership (C = .48)
Adaptability (C = .44)
Accountability (C = .35)
Efficiency (C = .35)
Excellence (C = .33)
Scholarship (C = .28)
Cooperation (C = .19)

State-Society Themes

Leadership (C = .46)
Adaptability (C = .41)
Accountability (C = .37)
Efficiency (C = .36)
Excellence (C = .34)
Scholarship (C = .25)
Cooperation (C = .24)
Aesthetic Environment (C = .20)

Academic Themes

Leadership (C = .34)
Influence (C = .33)
Adaptability (C = .31)
Recognition (C = .27)
Equality (C = .24)
Efficiency (C = .20)
Mutual Respect (C = .20)
Accountability (C = .19)

Political Themes

Leadership (C = .45)
Adaptability (C = .39)
Accountability (C = .38)
Efficiency (C = .36)
Excellence (C = .35)
Cooperation (C = .29)
Scholarship (C = .25)
*Effectiveness (C = .21)
Aesthetic Environment (C = .18)

Values Common To All Themes

Adaptability
Leadership

Values Not Associated With Any Theme

Academic Freedom
Comprehensiveness
Innovation
Liberal Education
Pride
Student-Oriented

*Value unique to theme

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